DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 324 910 FL 018 869

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TITLE Modern Greek: A Study of Diglossia.
PUB DATE Apr 90
NOTE 28p.; Paper presented at the Meeting of the World Congress of Applied Linguistics sponsored by the International Association of Applied Linguistics (9th, Thessaloniki, Greece, April 15-21, 1990).
PUB TYPE Reports - Research/Technical (143) -- Speeches/Conference Papers (150)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC02 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Contrastive Linguistics; *Diglossia; Error Patterns; Foreign Countries; *Greek; *Interference (Language); *Language Planning; Language Research; Language Tests; *Mutual Intelligibility; Native Speakers; Official Languages; Reading Comprehension; *Standard Spoken Usage; Testing; Uncommonly Taught Languages
IDENTIFIERS *Greece

ABSTRACT

A study of Greek speakers' ability to understand and produce two varieities of codes--Katharevousa (K) and Demotic (D)--is reported. The investigation was undertaken to provide evidence supporting or refuting the Greek government's decision to legislate Demotic as the official language of the country. A sample of 545 informants were tested with a reading comprehension test and a cloze procedure production test on three texts in either of the two variations. A significantly higher performance in favor of D indicated that D alone is the code that can function adequately as an effective means of communication, supporting the government's policy. In addition, the weakening of performance in K was found to be strongly evident in the poor performance of the subjects, based on the higher proportion and severity of errors committed. The pattern of interference appears to be in one direction only, from D to K. Based on these findings, it is concluded that any moves to reintroduce K are bound to result in failure. (MSE)

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MODERN GREEK: A STUDY OF DIGLOSSIA

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Abstract

This article is based on an investigation of the ability of Greek speakers to comprehend and produce the codes Katharevousa (K), the 'high' variety and Demotic (D), the 'low' variety.

The results of the study show that:

(a) A significantly higher permormance in favour of D indicates that D alone is the code that can adequately function as an effective means of communication. Empirical support is thus given to the Greek government's decision to recognize D as the standard language in Modern Greece.

(b) The weakening of performance in K is strongly evident in the poor performance of the subjects tested, and the higher proportion and severity of errors committed. The pattern of interference is unidirectional: from D upon K only. On the basis of the results, any moves to reintroduce K are bound to result in failure.

Areas of Study: (a) Contrastive Linguistics and Error Analysis.
(b) Language Learning and Teaching.
(c) Language, Culture and Society.

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0. INTRODUCTION

Legislating about language has been the domestic policy since the establishment of the Modern Greek State in 1829. The aim of this language policy together with its various vicissitudes has been on the one hand to offer a definitive solution to the long standing language controversy (or at least this appears to be the intention of the latest Legislative Decree of 1976) and on the other to provide Greeks with the so greatly desired for National language with which they could identify synchronically (as members of their wider contemporary community) and diachronically (as heirs and carriers of the tradition of their community across time).

A study of the history of the different phases of the official language policy in Greece, gives evidence of a language planning policy at variance with the linguistic reality in Greece, and adds weight to theorists of language planning (cf. Fishman 1973, 1974a, 1974b, 1974c; Haugen 1966a, 1966b; Neustupny 1974; Ray in Haugen 1966a:16, 17) who advocate that successful language planning is more like an art which requires the needs of the community as a whole to be taken into consideration and not only the needs of a minority (e.g. a ruling or an educated elite) as appears to have been the case in Greece.

If it is to be recognized that the factor that determines a successful language policy is convergence between political decisions and the linguistic reality of the country in question, and futhermore, if it is to be accepted that the most powerful legislator in language matters is actual use, then empirical

evidence which points to the state of affairs with reference to language use is the most reliable source on which to draw and on which to base, strengthen, and modify political decisions.

It was precisely these considerations that motivated me to undertake the research from which this paper arises. My main aim was to contribute with my findings to the scanty empirical evidence concerning the psychological reality of the two Greek language varieties that have for so long constituted the competing candidates/rivals in the language controversy, Katharevousa and Demotic or High and Low as these varieties have been described by Ferguson in his article 'Diglossia' (1959).

1. A SHORT HISTORY OF THE QUEST FOR THE NATIONAL LANGUAGE

In order to set the scene and equip the uninformed reader with the background information, a condenced account of the historical events that led to the divergence between the old linguistic tradition and the emerging new linguistic reality would be necessary. It would be appropriate to give here only a very brief account of the main stages of the language issue from its outset up until the present.

For reasons than can only be guessed at, a movement called Atticism advocating a return to the use of Attic Greek was initiated by Greek scholars (rhetoricians, grammarians, writers, teachers) most of whom lived in Rome during the first century B.C. At the same time, however, the spoken Greek reality in an extended area around the Mediterranian and further eastwards had developed otherwise. Out of the need for constant daily inter-

action between Greeks and natives, a new common Greek arose. It was Attic Greek but it bore the unmistakeable signs of evolution which the linguistic ignorance of the time could view only as signs of corruption and decadence.

The Attic movement lost its momentum from the beginning of the third century A.D. onwards, but it appears that it had managed to establish a precedent which was to be followed by those with literary interests, and the educated elite in general. The aping of classical Greek was still current during the Byzantine era whereas evidence of the period confirms that the spoken language continued to develop otherwise. No language problem arose, however: of the two varieties, the official written variety remained the prerogative of the ruling class and the unofficial spoken variety was used by the populace. Both varieties served their uses until historical events such as the fourth Crusade in 1204 and the fall of the Byzantine capital to the Turks in 1453 led to the political fragmentation of the Byzantine Empire and consequently to dialectal diversification and accentuation of varieties of spoken Greek, once contact with the spoken norm of the capital was cut off.

During the long years of the Turkish occupation lack of organized education, apart from solitary efforts of educated clergymen, favoured the spread of illiteracy and the development of the local vernaculars, while the administrative language of the Orthodox Church, the language of the educated Greek families clustered around the Patriarchate in the Turkish capital, and the language of the Greeks of the diaspora remained closer to the static archaistic model.

The language issue came to the fore some decades before the Greek War of Independence in 1821. The Greek scholars who wished to enlighten their compatriots with the new ideas had to face the problem of what language to use in the process of this enlightenment. The realization of the lack of homogeneous language of the one hand and the unsuitability of the archaic model for the purpose on the other resulted in verbal conflict among the Greek men of letters. The conciliatory proposal of the most influential Greek planner and educationalist A. Korais (1748 - 1833) settled the issue for a period.

The revival of Atticism (the tendency to imitate classical Greek) gained ground once again in the new Greek State. This phase of language question (1830-1880) was characterized by linguistic anarchy and polarization between two forms of Greek, Katharevousa (the tendency to pure Attic Greek) and Demotic (the common spoken form). The debate about the language acquired such political, social, cultural, and religious overtones it led nowhere. The strident call (by P. Soutsos in 1853) for a complete return to Attic Greek was answered by an equally militant call (by J. Psycharis in 1888) for a complete reform acknowledging the spoken vernacular as the written language. Because wider implications had entangled the language controversy to a great extent the verbal polemic resulted in socio-political upheavals such as that of 1901 in which eight people were killed and seventy were wounded (caused by the translation of the Gospels into Demotic), and the riot in 1903 caused by the translation of Aeschylus' Orestia into Demotic (one dead and two wounded). Public opinion pressed the government to include a special article in the Constitution of 1911 giving protection to Katharevousa.

Nevertheless, the need for simplification of the written form with concessions to the spoken form slowly gained official acknowledgement. Demotic was introduced on a par with Katharevousa in primary education in 1927. The writing of the grammar of Demotic was completed in 1941 by a committee appointed by the government. There were no radical changes in the language policy until 1964 when by the Legislative Decree No 4379 Demotic was to be taught alongside Katharevousa in all grades of secondary education. Enforced Law 129 of 1967 annulled Decree 4379 of 1964, while the 1968 Constitution gave full legal protection to Katharevousa which was to be considered the only official language of the State and education. After the fall of the dictatorship in 1974 and the restoration of Democracy in Greece, requests from supporters of Demotic made the government reconsider linguistic policy: in 1976 after a lengthy discussion the decision to restore Demotic became a Law of State. A necessary prerequisite was to update the 1941 grammar and make alterations towards a more commonly accepted linguistic norm. As was stated in the actual wording of the Legislative Decree 309 the model of Demotic to be followed should be

"... without dialectal peculiarities and excesses..."

Government Gazette (A. No 100/30.4.76)

A circular issued in the same year (8.12.76) authorized Demotic in all official documents from February 1977. The next decisive step to extend Demotic throughout the legal profession was made in 1983; a limit of two years adjustment was allowed. Finally, the revised constitution of 1986 was written in Demotic. No retrogressive steps have been made since then.

2. METHOD OF THE RESEARCH

As it was stated in the introduction of this paper, my aim was to provide factual information concerning the ability of Greek speakers belonging to different age groups, with different social, educational, and geographical backgrounds to function in either of the two varieties Katharevousa and Demotic. It was hoped that the findings, apart from contributing to the factual knowledge of the status of the two varieites in speakers' performance, regardless of governmental legislations, would give or refute empirical support to the governmental decision to legislate Demotic as the official language of Greece. Furthermore, synchronic linguistic reality would indicate the direction on which future language planning in Greece should be based in order to be effective.

In addition to questions of what kinds of tests and how to test Greek speakers, where to select extracts from and which technique to apply, there arose the question of deciding on a yardstick by which to judge the participants' performance objectively. As long as there was a model with which to compare the participants' production there would be no problem. Once they were left unguided to produce a sample of K or D, a yardstick to measure their performance was necessary. Baring in mind claims made by scholars (cf. Browning 1982; Hawkins 1983; Mirambel 1937; Papageotis 1964) that the diglossia practice in Greece had resulted in various sub-varieties of K and D respectively and on the other of criticism (cf. Babiniotis 1977) regarding the revision of the 1941 grammar (not based on collection of raw data), it was decided to adopt the following procedure.

The main sources for the description of the distinctive features of K were the authoritative K manual by Gennadius (1857) and my own 'grammar manual of K usage'. The main sources for the description of the distinctive features of D was a corpus of authentic D data (of approximately 30000 words) that was collected by myself and was subjected to computer analysis; the computer programme used to analyse the text was the 'Oxford Concordance Programme Version 1.4'. The corpus consisted of conversational data that were tape recorded clandestingly (to avoid the source of error stemming from what Labov calls the 'Observer's Paradox') in the cities of Athens, the capital, the city of Thessaloniki in the north, the city of Patra in the south, and on a ferry-boat sailing between the central Greek town of Saint Konstantinos and the North Sporades Islands in the Aegian Sea. Other sources were informal telephone conversations between myself and twenty seven friends and relatives, some live interviews from a Greek radio bradcast 'From seven till ten in the morning' and some live television interviews in news bulletins given by speakers that have been eye witnesses to accidents. Some spoken D material was collected by profiting from a variety of methods of investigation current in Sociolinguistics (cf. Labov 1966, 1972a, 1972b; Stubbs 1983; Trudgill 1974) that is, oral tests, and elicitations, and also through numerous field trips in order to make notes on specific points of D usage that are still debated. The only written D sample that was analysed was a selection of personal letters that I received from October 1983 until December 1986. The point made by Householder (1962: 128) that informal letters are written in D prompted me to include them in the corpus.

Once the description of the distinctive features of K and D was completed, the next step was the preparation of the test to be given. The main preoccupations were the selction of texts so as to accommodate a wide range of speakers with different edicational levels, backgrounds, ages, from the point of view of topic and text readability, and the variety of tasks to generate the appropriate data. Furthermore, it was found necessary before carrying out the main study, to conduct a pilot study in order to avoid pitfalls and improve on the methodology.

The final version of the test consisted of a battery of three tasks which aimed at testing comprehension and production of K and D respectively. The ability of the participants to comprehend K and D was first tested by presenting them with a passage in either of the varieties and asking them to answer six questions on critical points of the topic dealt with in the excerpt of K and D. Three of the questions were of the type termed direct or literal questions while the remaining three were of the type termed indirect or inference questions. An effort was made to ensure that the order of the presentation of questions corresponded to the order in which the information was processed in the passage itself. Gaining access to the speakers' ability to comprehend deeply the function of writing in both K and D was achieved by administering a cloze test. Furthermore, by choosing a cloze type procedure a multiple measurement of skills could be achieved. Not only the speakers' ability of conceptual and structural understanding could be assessed, but also their ability to produce the features of the relevant variety could be measured if blanks could be inserted at places where the participants

would be obliged to make a choice between a K and a D item. Although some features (phonological, morphological, syntactical, lexical) are shared by both varieties, there exist many points of divergence which assign a text to K or D. Thus, the participants were asked to complete a passage with internal non-fixed deletions at points where their choices would testify their thorough comprehension of the examined variety, but simultaneously their ability to produce it as well. The third task was the assignement of an unguided production activity. The main concern here was to avoid involving the participants in an unrealistic activity. Since K was used mainly for formal purposes, the participants were asked to write an application (all Greek citizens during K dominance were asked to write one at some time). Topics within the everyday activity of the general public were proposed for the D section.

Before presenting the results of the main study, a few words should be said about the marking procedures:

(a) Comprehension Section

The mark for comprehension was the average between the marks gained in the reading comprehension test and the cloze test. In the reading comprehension test, each question was given a percentage of achievement, 100% being the mark for excellent comprehension (all percentages were rounded off to the nearest ten). The cloze test was marked twice, once as an active comprehension test and once as a guided production test. For each correct item that was provided in every gap (there were 20) 5 points were given (lexical items that roughly approximated the message received a mark between 2 and 4) 100 being the mark for excellent D/K performance.

(b) Production Section

The marking of the cloze test was as above; unsuccessful approximations from a morphological point of view (e.g. hybrids, hypercorrections) were given points from between 2 and 4 depending on how closely they resembled the original version of the gap. The unguided production section was marked in a different way. First, a limit of 50 words was set for the number of the words produced. Any of the 50 words that were shared by both K and D were left out. The remained were examined for K or D correctness. For example, if 11 out of the 50 produced words were shared items between K and D, then the mark was given on the basis of the K or D correctness of the remaining 39 items. If only 30 of the occurrences bore the expected K or D features then the mark allocated was 76.92% of K or D correctness.

3. SAMPLING, TEST ADMINISTRATION, EXPECTED RESULTS

The selection of the participants and groups of participants that constituted the sample of the main study was dictated not only by the intention to make the sampling as systematic as possible, but also by an awareness of the limitations and difficulties that confront large-scale investigations. The aim was to collect a sample representative of all Greeks, i.e. Greeks of both sexes, of all levels of education (with exception to illiterate people), a variety of professions, varying geographical backgrounds and covering an age range from 12 up to 74 years of age. Moreover, the sample had to be large enough to allow divisions into groups and then into subgroups to allow meaningful comparisons to be made and statistical analysis to be applied.

It goes without saying that financial and other recources could not allow an individual researcher to test all Greeks or travel all over Greece. Therefore, the strategy decided was:

(a) to draw a sample of informants ranging from 12-18 years of age from representative Greek high schools;

(b) to board a train and recruit informants among people travelling to the north-east Greece (train route Athens to Alexandroupolis) and to the south (train route Athens - Kalamata). Subjects would either complete the test on the spot or post it to me later on.

The research started in July 1985 and tests were still reaching me as late as Christmans 1987. The final sample consisted of 545 informants.

Being a Greek resident, speaker of Greek, and therefore recipient of the diglossia policy, I could a priori answer certain questions regarding participants' performance in D or K. In addition to personal intuition, in preparing my research I came across earlier studies conducted by other researchers (cf. Frangos 1972; Hawkins 1975; Pantelis 1978). Furthermore, the results of the pilot study allured for some predictions about possible results. More specifically the following could be expected from the study:

(a) It would be unreasonable to argue that the sample (as a whole regardless age, education, sex and origin) would be more competent in K than in D since the former, apart from being ousted from all domains (although not before 1985 in the domain of Law/ legal profession) was learned through the channel of formal

education and not naturally acquired. Therefore, discrepancy in ability between D and K would be strongly evident in favour of D.

(b) As a consequence of the above predictions, errors would make up a significantly greater proportion in K than in D, they would be more severe in the former and would point towards a profound shift away from it. The pattern of interference would be unidirectional: intrusion from D to K mainly, rather than vice versa.

(c) The factors that would affect performance within D, albeit slightly, would probably be Age and Education and to a minor extent Origin and Sex. The rationale for hypothesizing thus was the fact that:

(a) older speakers did not have the chance to be taught D systematically (D was not taught before 1976),

(b) in order to attain profficiency in D one needs to study it thoroughly and practise it.

In connection with the variables Sex and Origin, an absolute pattern could not be predicted. People from a provincial background would be expected to perform less well than people from a city background because of lack of opportunities to develop their linguistic potentials to the same degree as the city dwellers, and females would not be expected to perform so well since they were not expected to excel professionally. It should be noted here that among the sample were found 14 Greeks from abroad. They were grouped together regardless of age, education, and sex. It was thought preferable to do so, because

their foreign environment could not but influence their linguistic performance in Greek negatively. They were expected to show a performance comparable to that of elementary school leavers.

The picture in K would be similar to that in D, but the patterns of discrepancy within it would be more absolute. Subjects with University degrees and of a certain age (mainly after 24) would be much more proficient than subjects with less formal education and younger. Discrepancy would appear also between sexes, to the detriment of females (the connection between Sex and performance would be definitely much more marked in K than in D), and between subjects with provincial origin and city origin at the expence of the former (for the same reasons as in D).

(d) The issue of predicting discrepancy in the main study between comprehension and production arose from the analysis of the results in the pilot study. It became evident in all tests that there was an asymmetry between K comprehension and production at the expense of the latter though not so clearly in the case of D, and not toward the same direction as in K. Thus, an asymmetry would be anticipated between ability to recognize K passively as opposed to ability to use it actively, at the expense of the latter. The pattern would be less marked in D and in reverse relation to that of K. Subjects would be more able in using D actively, but slightly less able at comprehension.

4. RESULTS

Grouping informants into age groups was determined by certain considerations. Subjects over 24 were familiar with K since they had been taught K systematically (and taught in K) while subjects under 19 were taught only D and had not had any secondary exposure to K. Thus division of informants into groups over 24 was made by decades (i.e., 25-34, 35-44, 45-54, 55-64, 65-74); the informants who had secondary exposure to K formed another group (19-24), while the school population was divided by year of study i.e., first grade lower high school (1st LHS aged 12), first grade upper high school (1st UHS aged 15), and third grade upper high school (3rd UHS aged 18). In order to make comparisons more meaningful it was considered wiser to test pupils from the above mentioned grades only.

Presentation and discussion of overall results of the test in the actual research was made separately by Age, Education, Origin, and Sex for each of the varieites D and K. They were followed by results attained in the comprehension section as opposed to those attained in the production section. Also in the actual research a detailed analysis of the errors that occurred was carried out from a quantitative point of view (in order to determine in which variety errors made up a more significant proportion) followed by a qualitative analysis (in order to determine in which variety errors were more severe and what the direction of interference was). In this paper only tables presenting the situation by Age will be presented while only the results by the remaining variables and the results of the error analysis will be reported.

Table 1 overleaf presents the groups of informants according to the division by Age (the group of informants with foreign backgrounds was included in the presentation by geographical origin). N stands for the number of informants in each group. M is the mean of attainment in D and in K, SD is the standard deviation for D and K respectively; R is the range from the bottom score to the top score.

From the data in the table, it can easily be seen that in every age group the mean score attained in D is higher than the mean score gained in K. The standard deviations show scores clustered around the high means while in K scores are much more spread out. In only one case (1st LHS) was the standard deviation in D greater in comparison with the standard deviation in K, but the D mean is 33.83 points above the cut-off point between passing and failing the test (50%), while the K mean is 30.93 points below it. Concerning the range of attainment in D, in no case did the mark drop below 50, while in K this was the rule for all groups. These differences of achievement between D and K were tested for statistical significance by applying a t test (at 1% level). The sizes of the t values, all of them significant, left no doubt that D took indisputable precendence over K. Figure 1 (page 17) shows diagramatically the pattern that emerged. Likewise, the pattern of significant discrepancy in ability between D and K remained intact in the analysis by Education, Origin, and Sex as was predicted in Section 3. (a).

TABLE 1

The Sample by Age Group (Year of Study), Overall Attainment in D and K

Age Groups	N		Demotic	Katharevousa
1st LHS (12 years)	76	M	83.83	19.07
		SD	11.39	9.60
		R	52.29 - 97.75	1.65 - 51.22
1st UHS (15 years)	83	M	92.87	36.62
		SD	5.95	11.73
		R	65.04 - 99.50	7.63 - 68.21
3rd UHS (18 years)	78	M	94.23	41.37
		SD	4.12	12.40
		R	79.38 - 100	16.67 - 66.79
19 - 24	35	M	95.42	48.09
		SD	3	12.61
		R	86.45 - 99.75	21.04 - 66.62
25 - 34	56	M	94.92	70.78
		SD	4.94	20.18
		R	66.63 - 100	18.71 - 97.84
35 - 44	72	M	94.60	64.48
		SD	5.06	26.50
		R	73.47 - 100	13.66 - 99
45 - 54	44	M	93.16	65.78
		SD	7.23	26.12
		R	64.79 - 100	9.58 - 97.83
55 - 64	41	M	95.06	74.83
		SD	4.29	17.59
		R	86 - 100	37.99 - 98.5
65 - 74	46	M	93.99	69.23
		SD	3.92	17.42
		R	86 - 99.5	32.28 - 95.25
Total	**531**			

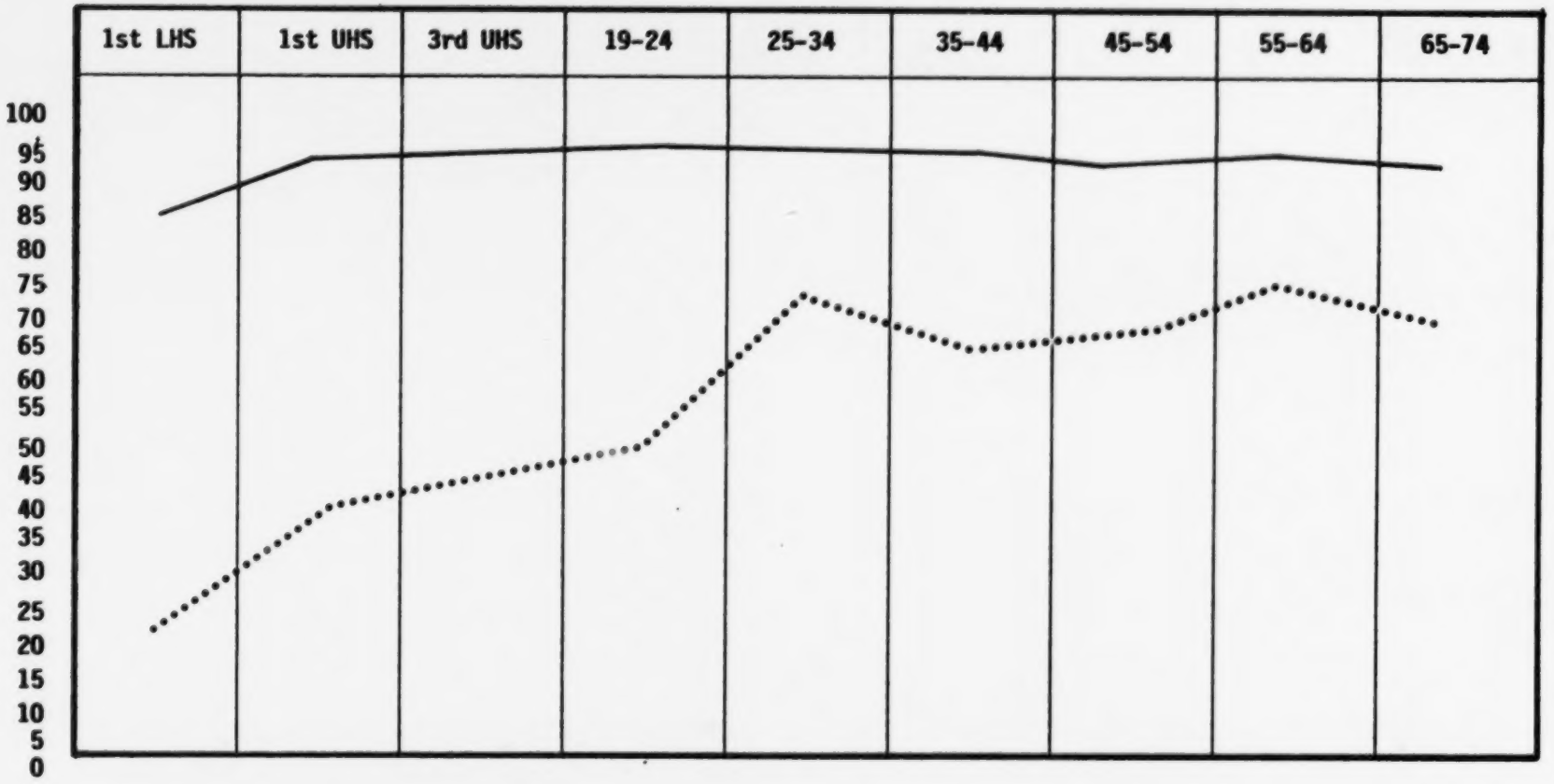

Figure 1: A Statistical Graph of Mean Attainment in D and K of the Main Sample

Key: _____ Attainment in D

: ..... Attainment in K

From the analysis of errors the following results were obtained:

(a) There was a higher proportion of errors in K and smaller proportion of errors in D.

(b) There was a higher concentration of percentages of errors in categories of less severe errors in D and a lower concentration in K. The reverse pattern appeared with regard to categories of severe errors.

(c) It became evident that both inter- and intralinguistic influences were operative forces triggering subjects' errors. The trend exhibited was in reverse relation between D and K: intralanguage factors took precendence in D and became the main source of error whereas inroads from D were the main source of error in K. The predictions made in Section 3. (b) were thus validated.

The results in the intergroup analysis by Age, Education, Origin, and Sex were as follows:

(a) Within D:

There were no unexpected results in relation to the Age factor. As forecast (Section 3.(c)) there were differences especially from the 1st LHS pupils up to subjects in the age range 19-24, but they were not significant. The pattern was kept even throughout the rest of the age groups. In the intergroup comparison by Education there was some increase in proficiency from group to group (elementary, middle, higher educ.), but although the t values were close to the level of significance they were not significant. Despite the reasoning that the factor geographical origin might exercise an influence, the findings did not verify

the hypothesis (Section 3.(c)). Provincial background alone did not necessarily result in linguistic inadequacy. As expected, sex differences in D were not significant, but there was some indication that developed proficiency was in favour of males, apart from high school girls whose performance was higher than that of boys.

(b) Within K:

Although it was hypothesized (Section 3.(c)) that older age would result in better performance in K, the pattern that emerged was not absolute but a checkered one. The most likely reason for such a fluctuation can be attributed to the vicissitudes of the Greek language policy which at times overfavoured K and at times slackened its measures to support it. Contrariwise, as expected, the education factor was linked to better knowledge in K while progressing from lower educational level to higher. No detectable pattern of differentiation in K ability emerged from comparing scores gained by subjects with city backgrounds as against these with provincial backgrounds despite the expected influence of the geographical factor. Evidence on the other hand in the intergroup comparison by sex verified what was anticipated: males out-performed females.

Table 2 overleaf presents the mean scores standard deviations and score ranges separately for comprehension and production first for D, and then for K. Concentrating on the D columns we notice that mean scores in D comprehension are lower than mean scores obtained in D production, standard deviations are greater in the comprehension section than those in the production section while

TABLE 2

Attainment in Comprehension versus Production for both D and K respectively by Age

Gr		D Comprehension	D Production	K Comprehension	K Production
1st LHS (76)	M	77.23	90.44	36.16	2.25
	SD	12.27	11.37	16.66	3.72
	R	44.58 - 95.58	60 - 100	3.3 - 79.83	0 - 24
1st UHS (83)	M	87.95	97.78	62.21	11.02
	SD	7.99	4.79	16.65	10.05
	R	57.58 - 99	72.50 - 100	12.75 - 88.33	0.5 - 55
3rd UHS (78)	M	89.54	98.92	65.32	17.43
	SD	6.49	3.24	15.74	11.01
	R	69.67 - 100	82.5 - 100	32.50 - 95.42	0 - 42
24-19 (35)	M	92.57	98.28	70.98	25.21
	SD	4.47	1.98	15.08	12.00
	R	80.41	92.5 - 100	42.08 - 92.75	0 - 42.5
34-25 (56)	M	91.51	98.33	78.96	62.62
	SD	7.02	4.11	17.50	26.67
	R	58.25 - 100	75 - 100	24.92 - 99.50	8 - 99
44-35 (72)	M	90.70	98.5	74.18	54.78
	SD	8.23	3.71	23.46	32.02
	R	64.44 - 100	82.5 - 100	20.83 - 99	0 - 99
54-45 (44)	M	89.51	96.81	73.73	57.72
	SD	9.97	5.98	23.17	31.17
	R	54.58 - 100	75 - 100	16.66 - 100	2.5 - 100
64-55 (41)	M	92.71	97.42	79.14	70.52
	SD	6.20	4.35	16.07	19.23
	R	76.75 - 100	75 - 100	43.49 - 98	32.5 - 98.5
74-65 (46)	M	91.37	96.60	74.47	64
	SD	5.17	3.13	16.88	18.56
	R	79.91 - 99	90 - 100	33.56 - 100	26.6 - 96

ranges are wider in comprehension than in production. The converse picture is given by results relating to K. Mean scores in comprehension surpass the scores gained in production and standard deviations are lower in comprehension than standard deviations in production. Standard deviations in comprehension in groups 1st LHS, 1st UHS, 3rd UHS and 19-24, although greater than the corresponding ones in production, indicate better performance since quite a number of subjects must have achieved marks above 50. However, the smaller standard deviations in production where means are much below 50 indicate that all subjects shared a poor level of performance close to the low means. Similar evidence of asymmetry between comprehension and production in favour of the former is given by the corresponding ranges in all groups. It should be added that the t values in the statistical analysis were significant. The re-analysis of the data by Education, Origin, and Sex revealed the same pattern. Subjects are better at producing D and not as good at comprehending it, but better at comprehending K than producing it.

5. CONCLUSION

The findings that emerged from the data permit the following generalizations to be made. In relation to the main aim of the study, it seems that it would be a relatively straightforward matter to conclude that K as a synchronic linguistic reality barely exists for speakers under eighteen years of age. However, it would be foolhardy to conclude that K has become totally extinct in the data of the sample drawn from speakers who were taught K and taught through the medium of K although proficiency

in K was considerably lower than that of D. They were fully aware of K as a distinct variety, their degree of awareness depending on their formal training.

In contrast, the subjects' response to D was the natural reaction of native speakers to their mother tongue. All were found highly proficient in it, even speakers who never had any teaching or intensive formal training in it.

One could conclude with confidence that superiority in D is an indisputable fact, a linguistic reality, the deep psychological embedding of which can in no way be denied. Such findings give empirical support to the Greek government's decision to introduce D as the sole national language of Greece. Proficiency in D is shared by all Greeks regardless of age, education, geographical origin, and sex; any differentiation in performance between speakers is of the kind met in any language community. Constant use of D in all sections of Greek life is eventually bound to endanger and weaken the bond with K and oust it completely.

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